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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 20 March 1992, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The CHAIRMAN: This solemn meeting is to commemorate the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which has been proclaimed by the General Assembly.

This International Day marks also the thirty-second anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, which took place in 1960, where innocent black South Africans demonstrated peacefully against the infamous pass laws imposed by the apartheid regime were massacred. Sixty-nine demonstrators were shot and killed, and many more were wounded.

The just quest of those innocent victims for freedom, equality and justice stirred the conscience of the world and gave added impetus to the struggle in South Africa as well as to the international campaign against apartheid.

We observe this International Day every year to renew our commitment to combating racial discrimination in general, taking as we do the abolition of apartheid as a major task in that struggle.

Opposition to racial discrimination is one of the major principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. While much success has been scored in promoting freedom around the world, there still remain lingering forms of racial discrimination, the most intractable being the abhorrent situation in South Africa of institutionalized racism under the apartheid regime.

The protracted struggle of the South African people and the extensive campaign of the international community have brought about important changes in South Africa, culminating in a political process in which numerous

(The Chairman)

anti-apartheid organizations and the Government are engaged in intensive negotiations within the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) to transform their country into a non-racial democracy.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has welcomed the decisive outcome of the all-white referendum as a sign of overwhelming support for a negotiated end to apartheid. We call on all parties concerned to make effective use of that impetus to hasten the negotiating process. We also urge the international community to remain vigilant in the crucial and difficult transition period ahead, applying as appropriate whatever leverage it has in order to help ensure that the process becomes truly irreversible. We wish to stress particularly that the need for a climate conducive to free political activity, particularly a solution to the appalling political violence in which more than 2,500 blacks were killed last year alone, remains as urgent as ever.

Much effort should also continue to be exerted to hasten the creation of an interim Government in which the wide range of organizations in the country can actively participate and which would command broad support from the widest cross section of the South African people.

We hope the process under way will speedily lead to a new constitutional order determined by the people of South Africa and based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and a number of specific fundamental principles contained in the United Nations Declaration. As we commemorate this solemn occasion, nothing could be a more fitting tribute to the victims of apartheid than rededication to the long-sought aspiration of the people of South Africa for a non-racial, united and democratic society.

(The Chairman)

I now have the great pleasure of welcoming to this solemn meeting the President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Samir Shihabi, and the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

I wish also to welcome the presiding officers of other United Nations bodies, the representatives of the national liberation movements of South Africa, and others, some of whom have come all the way from South Africa to join us in today's observances.

Before calling on the President of the General Assembly, I invite all present on this solemn occasion to stand and observe a minute of silence in memory of the victims of the Sharpeville massacre.

The participants observed a minute of silence.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour and the pleasure of inviting the President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Samir Shihabi, to make a statement.

Mr. SHIHABI (President of the General Assembly): May I express to you, Sir, and to the other members of the Special Committee against Apartheid my thanks and appreciation for this occasion to take part in this special commemorative meeting. It is with a deep sense of commitment that I join the Special Committee against Apartheid and members of the international community at large in observing this day, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

I am mindful that this day also marks the anniversary of and commemorates the victims of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa. Consequently, it should serve as a day of remembrance for all those who have in any way been victims of apartheid. As we remember them, we must also bear in mind the injustice suffered by those who have been victims of oppression and racism and those all over the world who have lost their inalienable rights merely on account of their race or nationality.

The United Nations has always stood for the equal rights of all peoples. The principles codified in its Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights compel us all to stand against racism wherever it may exist. We do realize, however, that racism and racial discrimination are far from being eradicated. This fact alone underscores the importance of this meeting.

One of the fundamental objectives set forth in the Charter of the United Nations is to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character. To this end, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and the Convention Against Discrimination in Education were adopted and two world conferences to combat racism and racial discrimination were held in 1978

(The President of the General Assembly)

and 1983. However, despite the efforts of of the international community, millions of human beings continue to this day to be the victims of varied forms of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

I must reaffirm again that all forms of racism and racial discrimination, particularly in their institutionalized form, such as apartheid, or resulting from official doctrines of racial superiority or exclusivity, are among the most serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world and must be combated, especially in South Africa and in occupied territories and territories under alien domination.

The positive results of the recent referendum in South Africa should accelerate the negotiations, involving all the people of that country, aimed at the final elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination there. I hope that all the parties will accept the result of the referendum seriously and participate in the negotiations for the early establishment of a truly non-racial, free and democratic system in South Africa. However, certain racist elements in that country continue to threaten the ongoing negotiations and must be checked. The failure adequately to address and contain them will inevitably mean a return to the era of bigotry, profound racism and even violence, which were the hallmarks of apartheid.

We, as members of the international community, must therefore remain vigilant and refrain from acts that tend to contribute to the uncertainties in South Africa. We must also endeavour to maintain our political leverage as called for by the United Nations General Assembly in its Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa and in consensus resolution 46/79 A adopted last December.

(The President of the General Assembly)

Moreover, as we observe this day, acknowledging in the process the positive developments that have been made in South Africa, it is incumbent on us all to ensure that the political process in South Africa is truly irreversible. This would facilitate an onward march towards a non-racial democracy in that country.

Freedom, peace and social justice are noble ideals which nations do work for and to which all peace-loving peoples aspire. Their attainment, however, cannot be guaranteed in a world full of racism and racial bigotry. As our world becomes smaller, bound by shared values and interdependency, the need to coexist and live in harmony becomes more pressing. Such an aspiration, however, cannot be fulfilled if a concerted effort is not made to eradicate racism and racial discrimination altogether. We must all bear this in mind and work assiduously to achieve a non-racial world. As we observe this day, let us resolve to recommit ourselves to those principles that uplift the dignity of mankind through the conquest of racism.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations, to address our meeting.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL: This observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination is taking place at a time filled with hope. The process of negotiated change currently under way in South Africa should lead in the near future to the emergence of a new society - a society in which all South Africans, irrespective of their race, can live together in harmony as equal citizens of a non-racial democracy.

The results of the recent referendum in South Africa two days ago have clearly demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of white South Africans

(The Secretary-General)

supports the negotiation process for a non-racial democracy. The result underlines the commitment of the South African people as a whole to reform and change through peaceful means. It provides a fresh and compelling impetus to the negotiations now taking place within the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

(The Secretary-General)

The United Nations, which participated as an observer in the first meeting of CODESA in December, is fully committed to the negotiating process. It is hoped that all concerned parties which have not yet joined the negotiations will do so soon. A preliminary agreement was reached earlier this month regarding arrangements to oversee the initial phases of the transition process. Further progress in the negotiations should lead to transitional arrangements that will inspire general confidence in the administration of the country and facilitate the establishment of the necessary mechanism for drafting a new constitution.

It is important that the negotiations remain on course, so that a common vision for and a common approach to the management of South Africa's transition towards a non-racial democracy can emerge. Persistent violence and socio-economic inequalities, however, continue to complicate the transition process. Improvements in such crucial areas as housing, education, employment and health will, without a doubt, help to ensure a peaceful transition to a post-apartheid South Africa. We now have a new opportunity for accelerating the process towards a negotiated settlement. This must not be missed.

A challenging period lies ahead for South Africa and the region as a whole. Member States, which have committed themselves, individually and collectively within the framework of the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid, to monitoring and promoting a non-racial and constitutional democracy in South Africa must remain vigilant. They should be ready to provide the support needed to facilitate the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a society in South Africa in which the aspirations of all its citizens for justice and equality are at long last fulfilled.

(The Secretary-General)

(spoke in French)

As we mark this day of observance for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, we must reaffirm our faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and in the equal rights of men and women. There can be no development without respect for human rights and there can be no respect for human rights without development. Peace and security among nations and all measures likely to consolidate peace throughout the world depend ultimately on our attitudes, policies and actions regarding human rights.

The CHAIRMAN: The International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has been globally observed by the international community for many years. The solemn annual observance which we hold today is important in many respects. First, it underscores our collective concern about the problems associated with racial discrimination and its impact on society at large. Secondly, this day is particularly significant for this Committee - a day of reaffirmation that all forms of racism, the worst type being that of apartheid, must be vigorously combated and completely eradicated.

The consequences of racial discrimination are so glaring that this day has become a memorial, a day reserved for honouring the victims of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa and, for that matter, all victims of the racial policies of apartheid.

The evils of racism may have become an overworked cliché. But this in now way detracts from the concern that we must all continue to share and express about racism and racial discrimination wherever they exist. Pockets of racism continue to manifest themselves globally and, of late, racial and hate crimes have been on the upswing. Whatever the rationalization may be for

(The Chairman)

these disturbing trends, there cannot be any justifiable basis for racism, least of all that which is given effect by Government legislation and fiats. As I have had occasion to say repeatedly, a threat to human dignity and human rights anywhere should be considered as a threat to them everywhere.

Mindful of the developments that have taken place in South Africa, today's observance assumes added importance. There is the temptation to be resigned to the notion that, since key apartheid legislation has been repealed, all is well in South Africa and that racism and apartheid are dead. In reality, this is far from the truth. We in this Committee have consistently insisted that a repeal of apartheid legislation and thus the removal of the theoretical basis for the existence of apartheid are not synonymous with an end to apartheid. We have continuously expressed profound concern about the legacy and vestiges of apartheid. We have also reiterated the need to arrest the prevailing violence, which is in itself a by-product of the apartheid system. All these, coupled with the stark and grave socio-economic inequalities which exist today in South Africa, are pointers to the bedevilling problems that the South African nation confronts because of the existence of racism.

While our preoccupation in this Committee is with South Africa and political developments in that country, it must be borne in mind that universally, and in spite of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, racism continues unabated, becoming daily more insidious in both its scope and its character.

The United Nations has decried racism over the years. In the same context, it has described apartheid as a crime against humanity. Assiduous efforts are being made now not only to eradicate apartheid through peaceful negotiations, but also to bring about a non-racial and democratic society in

(The Chairman)

South Africa. We, as members of the international community, are duty bound to assist in every way possible in bringing about that desirable reality in South Africa.

Only three days ago, an all-white referendum was conducted in South Africa. The imperative necessity for and outcome of that referendum notwithstanding, it did underscore the need for racism to be continuously challenged wherever and whenever it exists. No rationalization whatsoever can justify the circumstances in which the fate of an entire nation is determined by the marginal consideration and opinion of just a segment of that society and, worse still, along racial lines. As I observed prior to the referendum, it proves once again that the ongoing process in South Africa is not yet irreversible.

In spite of some auspicious developments in South Africa, there remain several reasons to be cautiously optimistic. It is realistically accepted that there is the overwhelming possibility that some political imponderables may occur that may influence and affect developments thus far. The concern that such an impact may be negative cannot be taken lightly. Similarly, past experience has shown that, when they occur, they are often racially motivated.

It behoves us all, as we mark this day, to make every effort and every contribution possible towards enhancing and supporting the current negotiations under the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa. It cannot be overemphasized that a reversal of the current negotiations would have disastrous consequences both inside and outside South Africa. In the context of racism which we discuss today, it must be acknowledged that a return to the regressive and repressive policies of apartheid of the past will be a return to unprecedented racism as well as its attendant violence.

(The Chairman)

Thus, while today ought not to be a day of recriminations, we must observe it with a resolve to work in a concerted manner towards eradicating racism wherever it exists, and particularly in apartheid South Africa. Our collective responsibility is a moral one, and our obligation must be anchored on our individual sense and individual commitment to fairness, equity and social justice as well as our unwavering support for the fundamental human rights of every citizen of our world.

(The Chairman)

I now invite His Excellency Mr. Renagi Renagi Lohia, Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to make a statement.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea), Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Special Committee of 24): This solemn meeting in observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination marks the thirty-second anniversary of the massacre at Sharpeville, South Africa, when the brute force of the apartheid regime was unleashed - not for the first time, but to be repeated on countless other occasions - on innocent men, women and children.

Despite the fact that brutality is endemic to the apartheid system, and that massacres, executions, imprisonment and exile were inflicted on the non-white population for years, Sharpeville became a milestone in the struggle against apartheid, a symbol of resistance by the people of South Africa as well as a turning-point in the determination of peoples and Governments all over the world to become true partners with the people of South Africa in their struggle for equality and democracy. In proclaiming 21 March as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination the General Assembly called on the international community to redouble its efforts to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination.

Today we meet once again to pay our respects to those 69 innocent people who had gathered peacefully to demonstrate the fact that they too were equal members of humankind, of whatever colour or race, and that dignity, freedom and equality were universal rights to be shared.

(Mr. Lohia, Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

Just this week another milestone was passed in the history of that beleaguered country. Almost 70 per cent of the white electorate voted "Yes" to the only question in the "whites only" referendum: "Do you support continuation of the reform process which the State President began on 2 February 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?". The outcome of the referendum becomes even more encouraging because almost 88 per cent of registered white voters participated in that referendum.

The referendum excluded 70 per cent of the country's population which is black, 10.4 per cent of the population which is categorized as mixed and 3.1 per cent of the population which is Asian. One cannot fail to note the irony in Mr. de Klerk's statement in which he said that there was an

"element of justice that those who started this long chapter of history were called upon to close the book on apartheid".

We note that overall progress has been made in the process of ending apartheid in South Africa and towards negotiation on a new constitution. The repeal of major apartheid laws is a most notable development, although little has been done to give practical effect to the repeal.

We would however be less than honest - and therefore less than serious - if we did not take note with serious concern, and also take action regarding, the appalling manifestations of racial and ethnic bigotry and violence in so many countries in almost every part of the world. Are those situations less cruel? More recently, have not unbridled nationalism and ethnicity torn the fabric of entire societies apart, causing untold levels of suffering and destruction? They, too, pose a threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Lohia, Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

At its forty-sixth session the General Assembly adopted resolution 46/85 of 16 December 1991, entitled "Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination", in which it declared once again that all forms of racism and racial discrimination, particularly in their institutionalized form, such as apartheid, or resulting from official doctrines of racial superiority or exclusivity, are among the most serious violations of human rights in the contemporary world and must be combated by all available means.

The General Assembly further called on the entire international community to give effect to the programmes and activities for combating racism, racial discrimination and apartheid and to intensify their efforts during the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

The year of Sharpeville, 1960, also marked the adoption by the General Assembly of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. By adopting its resolution 1514 (XV) on 14 December 1960 the General Assembly adopted an instrument to guide it in its task of seeking ways and means to confront the evil legacy of colonialism. Racism and racial discrimination characterized many colonial situations in the past. Thirty years later - in 1990, with Namibia's acceding to independence - one could feel a measure of satisfaction at the successful outcome of the struggle of the Namibian people, who fought long and hard against the interlinked evils of racism, apartheid and colonialism which had for so long distorted their history, their development and their humanity.

(Mr. Lohia, Chairman,
Special Committee of 24)

The tasks entrusted to both the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Special Committee on decolonization, which I am privileged to represent here today, have been similar - defending the right of peoples everywhere to self-determination and freedom, equality and dignity and the enjoyment of basic human rights. For over 30 years the two Committees have been at the forefront of international action in pursuance of these common goals.

Today the international community is in a position where the end of apartheid is in sight and to hope that the difficult road to a free and democratic society, although beset with pitfalls, is a real possibility.

The international community has also been given by the General Assembly a time-frame in which to complete the decolonization process and to make this last decade of the twentieth century the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 43/47 of 22 November 1988.

As we brace ourselves to fulfil the complex tasks, given the many problems which remain to be resolved regarding racial discrimination in general and its manifestation of apartheid in South Africa, and decolonization in the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, we must seek our guidance from the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the question of apartheid, increase our efforts for the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and ensure that we fulfil the mandate entrusted to us by the General Assembly in its resolution 46/181, entitled "International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism" and the Plan of Action aimed at ushering in in the twenty-first century a world free from colonialism, racism and apartheid.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, Mr. Tebogo Mafole, to make a statement.

Mr. MAFOLE (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): It is a singular honour and privilege for me, on behalf of the African National Congress and in the name of the struggling people of South Africa, to address this solemn meeting in observance of Sharpeville Day, designated by the United Nations General Assembly as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Underlying this designation is the conviction of all people of conscience that the highest tribute that can be paid to the victims of the massacres of Sharpeville and Langa - who died 32 years ago in their courageous fight against apartheid - is to commemorate their deaths with a rededication to the struggle against racial discrimination everywhere.

Mr. Chairman, before addressing the substance of our intervention, I should like to crave your indulgence to place on record our profound gratitude for the messages of support for and solidarity with our struggle conveyed by the eminent speakers who intervened before us. In the same vein, the African National Congress wishes to register its deeply felt appreciation to the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, particularly you, Sir, its Chairman, Professor Ibrahim Gambari, for the relentless support that the ANC and the people of South Africa have received over the years. Needless to say, all this has been made possible by the dedication and indefatigable efforts of the leadership and personnel of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, for which we remain indebted.

Let me also seize this opportunity to congratulate Mr. James Jonah on his appointment as United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, dealing with Africa and the Middle East. It is, we believe, testimony to his able qualities that he assumes responsibility over an area that has greatly

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

preoccupied the world, particularly in so far as it has encompassed two hotbeds of global tension - southern Africa and the Middle East. It is highly gratifying to note that Mr. Jonah brings with him a wealth of experience to the work involving our region, having served as Secretary-General of the Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva in 1983, and since 1984 served as the Secretary-General's Special Representative to coordinate all activities relating to the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. We therefore wish hereby to pledge our delegation's maximum support for and cooperation with him.

We would be remiss if we did not take a few moments to pay a deserved tribute to Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, who since April 1987 has provided able leadership to the Centre against Apartheid as Assistant Secretary-General. In that capacity Mr. Mousouris played a pivotal role in sensitizing the international community, and in particular the United Nations, to the question of apartheid. It can be said without fear of exaggeration that he personally made an immense contribution which greatly assisted the United Nations in formulating and implementing its policy towards South Africa. This includes the tireless efforts he exerted to help cultivate a consensus position on South Africa, which resulted in the adoption by the General Assembly of the celebrated Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, as well as subsequent consensus resolutions on South Africa. He leaves the Centre at a time when the process for which he laboured so tirelessly, the earnest search for a negotiated settlement, is beginning to gain momentum in South Africa. We are pleased that he was a member of the delegation of the United Nations Secretary-General at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in South Africa. On behalf of the ANC, we

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

wish him and his Special Assistant, Mr. Michael Moller, great success in their responsibilities.

In the past two years South Africa has witnessed momentous political developments that have not only attracted international focus but also altered the political landscape of our country. In an international setting where the cataclysms of Eastern Europe, the war in the Gulf, the situation in the Middle East and other such critical and pressing issues were all crying out for international attention, the question of apartheid has remained firmly on the international agenda.

The reason for this is, in our view, not very far to find. It is explained by apartheid itself: a system of racial discrimination whose philosophical rationale is grounded in a viciously distorted Calvinist doctrine that preaches the superiority of the white race, a system whose racist political practice is entrenched in pseudo-legal statutes, and whose right to exploit the black community to the optimum is defended by the greatest military power in the southern hemisphere. In the face of world protest at this outrage, its perpetrators saw the answer in engulfing the entire region of southern Africa in death and destruction, with great loss in human life and property, and thus posing a serious threat to world peace. This system, which for decades looked so secure, and whose creators saw in it the makings of the thousand-year Reich, upon which it was modelled, began to show deep cracks. Under the combined impact of the resolute struggle of the people of our country and the concerted pressure brought to bear by the international community, the edifice of apartheid is beginning to collapse.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

The manifestations are there for everyone to see. Starting on 2 February 1990, the African National Congress and other proscribed orgnaizations were unbanned; Nelson Mandela was released after 27 years of incarceration; the regime in South Africa held talks with the ANC, which resulted in the release of political prisoners and the return of exiles; and negotiations between the regime and other political forces started under the auspices of CODESA. These processes have understandably elicited a favourable response among all those who have placed a high premium on the search for a peaceful resolution of the South African conflict. Indeed, many nations of the world, with some justification, saw these developments as significant contributory factors leading to the realization of the objectives of the United Nations Declaration.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

It is, however, a matter of serious concern to us that some circles are beginning to talk as though apartheid was a thing of the past, which therefore no longer had any place on the international agenda. Such an assertion is, in our view, not only misleading but in fact highly dangerous. This is because it not only completely ignores the real situation on the ground in South Africa but also encourages complacency and a general relaxation of vigilance on the part of the international community, thus denying critical support to those who are arrayed against apartheid, especially at a time when the objective of a truly democratic South Africa is in sight.

We would strongly urge those who are gullible enough to believe that apartheid is dead to step aside from those lofty pronouncements on apartheid emanating from the comfort of dubious board-rooms and university lecture halls. To them we would say: "Remove the lenses tainted with euphoria through which you see South Africa, take a hard look at the harsh reality and then explain, if you can:

"Why 80 per cent of the population in South Africa is still unable to vote.

"Why the per capita income of white workers last year amounted to R24,600 and that of black workers was R2,400.

"Why 53 per cent of the black population lives below the poverty line, while the comparable figure for whites is less than 1 per cent.

"Why an advanced country like South Africa should have 30 per cent of its population totally illiterate and 38 per cent functionally illiterate. Needless to say, all these figures relate to black people.

"Why over 2 million black children could not find accommodation in school last year whilst the white schools had 807,000 vacancies, leading

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

to some white schools literally closing down because there were no more white students to enrol."

The list is endless and it points in one direction: that whilst apartheid may be dead for some self-appointed experts on apartheid, for the millions of oppressed South Africans it is very much alive and its address is still South Africa. This is the first reality that we want to underline.

The second reality relates to yet another fallacious assertion that seems to be gaining currency in the analysis of the political trends in South Africa. This is the notion on the basis of which it is argued that whatever political developments have occurred in South Africa are irreversible. In terms of the danger that this notion presents, it is no different from the characterization of apartheid as dead, for it seeks to lure the international community into the trap of abandoning whatever leverage it may have on South Africa by giving up all measures against the regime. The argument goes: We know that apartheid is not yet dead, but have not de Klerk and the white community clearly and irrevocably committed themselves to democracy? Are not the results of the referendum that has just been held proof positive that apartheid is on its way out?

In seeking to clarify the standpoint of the ANC on this matter, I should like to address, albeit very briefly, the question of the referendum held on 17 March 1992.

The ANC, along with the democratic forces of our country and indeed many Governments and organizations worldwide, including the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, whilst expressing serious reservations about the racial nature of the referendum, nevertheless urged the white community not to act in a manner that would scuttle the negotiation process, which had already started under the auspices of CODESA.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

We took the view that if the white community were to return a majority "No" vote this would not only lead to the scuttling of the discussions already under way at CODESA, but also throw the country into a political turmoil of unimaginable proportions, since to the majority of black people another whites-only election would be totally unacceptable. It is for this reason that we of the ANC welcome the outcome of the referendum precisely because it has helped to put negotiations that were seriously jeopardized back on track, allowing for the possibility of reaching a settlement soon.

This having been said, we must, however, point out that the referendum, far from proving the irreversibility of the process, demonstrates the very opposite. It was in fact a painful reminder that the white community alone had it in its power to reverse the process. In many years to come, when our history is chronicled, scholars will offer us well researched explanations as to why the whites voted in the manner that they did. For now, however, it is patently clear that they were empowered to make the decision that could have amounted to a virtual veto and resulted in very dire consequences.

The second observation on the referendum which has to be made, and which is very important, if somewhat less obvious, is that whilst it is absolutely safe to assume that the majority of the whites voted "Yes" because they saw the negotiation option as the only viable one, it is also true that an important factor which influenced their decision was the fear that a "No" vote would invite international reprisals in the form of economic sanctions and other punitive measures, such as isolation from international cultural and sports contacts. For us, this reality underlines the wisdom of the decision adopted by the General Assembly at the end of last year in resolution 46/79, which, rather than advocating the abandonment of all pressure, called for the

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

phased application of measures against Pretoria in tandem with the progress made in the political process.

Thirdly, the referendum results graphically demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the white people voted for negotiations, despite the fact that they were aware that this would inevitably lead to the loss of their privileged status in South African society. This status has always been guaranteed by apartheid.

It therefore stands to reason that the support for this process among blacks would be equally, if not more, enthusiastic, since they would surely realize that the creation of a democratic South Africa would only result in the improvement of their lot.

We would therefore hope that this reality will not be lost on the different political forces in South Africa. It should serve to encourage them to join hands with us as we endeavour to build a new society on the ashes of apartheid.

The last observation is that some confusion appears to exist as to the interpretation of the results of the referendum. There are those who argue that the high percentage poll and the overwhelming "Yes" vote reflects the support enjoyed by the National Party and its political programme. There is no doubt that the National Party and its leadership campaigned heavily for the "Yes" vote, but it would be a serious mistake to interpret the 68.6 per cent affirmative vote registered as anything but support for the process of negotiation rather than for the political perspectives of that party. Such support will be ascertained only when the people of South Africa are offered the opportunity to examine the political programmes of different political forces and to exercise their right to choose among them the programme that encapsulates their aspirations.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

Permit me, therefore, Mr. Chairman, to deal finally and very briefly with the ANC's perspectives for the future.

It is a matter of historical record that the ANC initiated the negotiation process currently under way. Along with 18 other participants, the ANC is participating in CODESA. In this connection we have submitted, as have others, our proposals to the five working groups of CODESA that are addressing various issues within that body.

The ANC's perspective for the future is clearly reflected in the Declaration of Intent signed by all but two of CODESA's participants in December 1991, which envisages the creation of a united, non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa based on universal adult suffrage on the basis of one person, one vote.

In an effort to advance the process of negotiations, the ANC on 24 February presented to CODESA far-reaching proposals on the transitional arrangements. In a nutshell, the ANC proposed a two-stage process, whose implementation could be realized within 18 months. The first phase entails the creation of an Interim Government Council in order to level the playing field by ensuring equal treatment for all organizations, especially in the election campaign. The second stage involves the election of a Constituent Assembly, which will serve as both a constitution-making body and as a legislative assembly. We do not see why there should not be an interim Government in South Africa this year.

These proposals have been made after a careful analysis and very serious broad-based discussion within the ranks of the African National Congress. They represent our contribution to the process which it is hoped will lead to the path we have chosen towards a democratic South Africa.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

The international community, and in particular the United Nations, could greatly facilitate this process through strict adherence to the provisions of consensus resolutions, particularly General Assembly resolution 46/79, which states, inter alia, that the normalization of relations with South Africa should be carried out in tandem with the progress registered at the negotiations for the democratization of the country, and that the international community should enhance its material support to South Africa in order to address the glaring socio-economic inequities that are a legacy of apartheid.

Timely intervention by the peoples of the world can and will greatly accelerate the process leading to the attainment of our noble objective of a truly democratic South Africa.

To conclude, allow me to convey our warm fraternal greetings and respect to all those who fight for justice throughout the world. In particular, we wish to single out the courageous people of Palestine, whose resilient struggle for self-determination and statehood, under the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), has been a source of great inspiration to us all. We resolutely support the ongoing efforts to find a negotiated, lasting peace for the Middle East.

We stand rock-solid behind the valiant people of Western Sahara, under the POLISARIO. It is our fervent hope that a speedy solution of the conflict in Western Sahara will be achieved soon in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations.

For our part, we wish to take this opportunity to reiterate our firm conviction that South Africa shall become truly democratic.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure of inviting the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Mr. Vuyani Mngaza, to make a statement.

Mr. MNGAZA (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): On behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the custodian of the genuine aspirations of the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed people of Azania, allow me to convey to the Special Committee against Apartheid the sincere gratitude of our people for annually observing 21 March as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. This annual observance by the Special Committee against Apartheid has contributed to focusing international attention on the plight of our people and on the legitimacy of our struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

I wish at this stage to inform participants of how this date - 21 March - was arrived at. At the conference of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania in December 1959 it was unanimously decided to launch decisive, final, positive action against the apartheid pass laws. The first President of the PAC, Comrade Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, was mandated to announce the date of the launching of the campaign. It was he who chose and announced 21 March 1960 as the day of challenging the then feared South African regime.

On that day the international community was stunned when the trigger-happy Fascist troops of the racist regime shot dead over 84 men, women and children and maimed and wounded over 365 in Sharpeville, Langa and other places in South Africa.

The events of 21 March 1960 fundamentally changed the nature of our struggle. After those events, South Africa was never the same again. Indeed,

(Mr. Mngaza, PAC)

it can be said that there might never have been a Special Committee against Apartheid without the Sharpevile uprising, led by the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

In an editorial on 2 February 1992, a Johannesburg newspaper, The Star, wrote:

> "The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has a proud record. It started as a peaceful movement. It launched the pass campaign that ended in the Sharpeville massacre. The Sharpeville episode, more than any other event before, focused world attention on apartheid and helped change history."

As I speak, many of our innocent people are dying in our country. A peace accord has been signed by some organizations, but more people are dying. Only last week 90 people were killed in Natal and other places in what The Cape Times called "Black Friday". This brought the death toll to 300 since the announcement of the whites-only referendum.

May I remind participants that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania did not sign the peace accord, first on the ground that it is not involved in the so-called black-on-black violence and primarily because most of the violence in our country is orchestrated by the South African racist regime. This genocidal violence is carried out through the South African Defence Force, the CCB, Koevoets, Buffalo Battalion 32, RENAMO elements, askaris and Selous Scouts from Ian Smith's Rhodesia, to name just a few. This genocide has reached the stage where an international commission should be established to investigate it.

(Mr. Mngaza, PAC)

In November 1989, the PAC, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and United Nations representatives worked into the early hours of a New York morning drafting a document that eventually saw the light of day. It is called the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. The following principles were enunciated in that Declaration: South Africa shall become united, non-racial and democratic; all its people shall enjoy common and equal citizenship and nationality regardless of race, colour, sex or creed; all its people shall have the right to participate in the Government and administration of the country on the basis of universal equal suffrage under a non-racial voters' roll and by secret ballot, in a united non-fragmented South Africa; all shall have the right to form and join any political party of their choice, provided that it is not in furtherance of racism; all shall enjoy universally recognized human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected by and under an entrenched bill of rights; South Africa shall have a legal system that will guarantee equality of all before the law; South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary; there shall be created an economic order that will promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans; and a democratic South Africa shall repect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation with all peoples.

(Mr. Mngaza, PAC)

Those principles are in accord with the basic principles of our struggle in Azania.

In pursuit of national unity and peace among the dispossessed Africans, the PAC, at its second congress, which it held in December 1990 after having been banned by the racist regime for 30 years, was mandated to form a Patriotic United Front with all forces in our country which are in contradiction to the South African racist regime. The PAC approached the ANC, the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) and others, even Inkatha, to form a Patriotic United Front on the basis of certain stated principles. In October 1991 the Patriotic United Front was formed. It was financed by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). It rallied round the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly, which it considered its bedrock.

Some of the matters agreed by the Patriotic United Front were: first, the pre-constituent assembly meeting/all-party conference must be convened by an independent and neutral convener, not by the South African racist regime; secondly, the PAC and the ANC must agree on an acceptable convener; and thirdly, the pre-constituent assembly meeting/all-party conference would work out modalities for transferring power to the majority. The constitutional principles would be within the framework outlined in the United Nations and OAU Declarations of 1989. The international community would have the role of supervising the negotiations. It is a historical falsity that South Africa, a colony that was never decolonized, has sovereignty. The PAC wanted the negotiations to be supervised by the OAU and the United Nations, which were not to be mere observers or invitees of the South African racist regime.

(Mr. Mngaza, PAC)

On 29 and 30 November 1991, when the PAC attended what it considered a pre-constituent assembly, the PAC found itself alone in presenting the demands of the Patriotic United Front outlined above. Others succumbed to Mr. de Klerk's rejection of the Patriotic United Front. It is therefore a terminological inexactitude to say that those in Mr. de Klerk's Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) represent the Patriotic United Front and its demands.

CODESA is a creation of the apartheid regime. That is why, when it suited Mr. de Klerk, he left CODESA for his own whites-only referendum and threatened to resign. That sort of thing would never have occurred if the negotiations had been genuine and had been carried out under the supervision of the OAU and the United Nations. In the present exercise, Mr. de Klerk is still both a player and a referee. He does as he pleases. Nothing is guaranteed. He wants to dismantle apartheid in his own way: the CODESA way, which has more features of co-option than of negotiation. The South African situation is still not irreversible, and appropriate sanctions must not be lifted.

CODESA is composed of 14 bantustans and tricameral structures, all created by the South African racist regime, all receiving their payrolls and budgets from the Pretoria regime, all condemned by General Assembly resolutions and by Security Council resolution 554 (1984). Three of those bantustans are led by miltary juntas whose soldiers were trained by the South African racist regime. There is false propaganda that those elements are "patriotic forces". They are not. They are defectors to Mr. de Klerk's schemes. If they were patriotic forces, they would have demanded what the Patriotic United Front mandated them to demand, as the PAC is doing.

(Mr. Mngaza, PAC)

The recent referendum in South Africa has been given very misleading interpretations. One of them is that the overwhelming support the white-only electorate gave de Klerk shows that they now support the outcome of negotiations as envisaged by the people of Azania through organizations such as the PAC, the United Nations and the OAU. The question which was asked the electorate was not whether they support majority rule, which is democracy. They were not asked if they support the termination of racist minority rule, which is apartheid and tyranny over the indigenous African majority.

In any case, as early as 17 April 1990 Mr. de Klerk told the whites in South Africa:

> "We believe majority rule is not suitable for a country like South Africa. This applies to a unitary system. ... Those who enjoy full political rights at present are not prepared to bow out apologetically from the stage of history. ... On the contrary, a key role awaits them in a new dispensation. We shall not throw [away] the freedom and values that have been built. ... It is also with this in mind that I shall be going to the negotiating table. ... When we have completed the negotiations the results will be put to the electorate" - that is, the white minority - "in an election or a referendum. Should they say 'yes' to the proposals, Parliament as constituted in terms of the Constitution prevailing then" - the racist Constitution - "will implement the proposals in a constitutional manner".

Mr. de Klerk has also rejected majority rule on the basis of one person, one vote, and has in fact offered what is called power sharing. How much do

(Mr. Mngaza, PAC)

36 million Africans share with 3 million whites? That is the question. Is the sharing of land and political power in proportion to population numbers? It seems that 3 million whites will still get much more land and political power than the vast indigenous African majority.

Of CODESA, Mr. de Klerk told the minority Parliament on 24 January 1992 that

> "CODESA is not ... an institution of authority. ... Government's participation in it does not in any way entail the relinquishing of its powers or authority".

He reiterated the right of whites to veto the changes they did not like.

(Mr. Mngaza, PAC)

When it suited him, he held the recent referendum without the consent of his fellow participants in the Convention. Why would the whites therefore not vote for Mr. de Klerk in the recent referendum? No reason at all.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania remains committed to genuine negotiations for the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly. The PAC is in the process of pursuing this demand through all channels.

In closing, let me quote the words of our Deputy President, Advocate D. Moseneke:

> "We in the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania reaffirm our demand for a neutrality of convenership, chairmanship and venue. Only internationally supervised, monitored, guaranteed and verified agreements, free from such blatant manipulation and veto by the racist regime and its puppets, would be acceptable.
>
> "The way forward for the liberation movement is to refuse to give legitimacy to a forum which is designed to frustrate our legitimate goal of liberation. We must consolidate the ranks of the oppressed through a viable Patriotic United Front.
>
> "We must resist short-term solutions in favour of a genuine process directed at democracy and capable of advancing the quest for national liberation and self-determination."

The negotiating process should be a truly decolonizing process leading to the emergence of a new African State representing the right of sovereignty and independence of the African people, their right to self-determination and their sovereignty over their economic and natural resources.

(Mr. Mngaza, PAC)

For upholding these fundamental principles of our national struggle for liberation, we have been threatened. The stage is being set for confrontation with the forces of genuine liberation in South Africa. Officials of the South African racist regime have warned that, as soon as the so-called "interim Government" is in place, action will be taken against the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the Azanian People's Organization and others which are in disagreement with the regime's schemes of co-option. Monies are also being dangled to sell the CODESA fraud.

Liberty is not a cheap commodity. We have got to accept this. We are prepared to pay any price for our people's liberation and dignity in its own land. We also pledge our unwavering support for the people of Palestine for its heroic struggle for self-determination. We also support the POLISARIO Front and are with them in their struggle. Their struggle is one with ours.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite Mrs. Maha G. Khoury, the representative of Palestine, to make her statement.

Mrs. KHOURY (Palestine): On behalf of the Permanent Observer Mission of Palestine to the United Nations, I would like to express our solidarity with the people of South Africa on this important occasion, the observance of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

The people of South Africa has suffered tremendously from the policies of apartheid, the policy of racial discrimination. Those of the black majority of South Africa have paid a heavy price in all aspects of their lives because of these inhuman policies, which were reflected in their economic and political situation, in their education, in their health, family and family structure, in the well-being of their children, youth and the elderly, and, most importantly, in their women. The effects of such policies were all in

(Mrs. Khoury, Palestine)

all a devastation to the social and economic structures of the black majority in South Africa. In all probability, it will take years and years to rebuild the destruction that the apartheid system created. At the same time, we recognize that the process of negotiation that is currently under way is creating some cracks in the system of apartheid and is moving in the direction of dismantling it. However, the progress which has so far been achieved is slow and minimal in its impact on the level of suffering that has befallen the black majority. Racism and discrimination are illegal and should be stopped and stopped immediately.

The idea or the ideology of exclusiveness is very dangerous, whether it is based on colour, race, religion or nationality. It should not by any means exist within the international community, and especially at this age and time. Nor should the international community tolerate such ideologies in any shape or form. We firmly believe that economic sanctions should continue against the apartheid regime and should be lifted only when the rights to self-determination, freedom and democracy are completely and unequivocally achieved for the black majority of South Africa. Furthermore, we would like to note that the recent success of the referendum in South Africa is indeed a positive outcome of the current negotiations.

Just as apartheid is illegal, so is occupation. We are still witnessing the continuation of the illegal occupation of Palestinian lands, the West Bank and Gaza. Furthermore, we continue to witness the systematic violations of the human rights of the Palestinian people by the occupying Power, Israel. Israel continues to imprison, detain and kill the Palestinian people living in the West Bank and Gaza. It continues its closure of our schools and universities, demolishing our homes and building illegal settlements on our lands. Israel as an occupying Power is in violation of the United Nations

(Mrs. Khoury, Palestine)

Charter, the provisions and principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

The Palestinian people is suffering tremendously from the policies of occupation, repression and discrimination practised by Israel. These cruel and inhuman practices on the part of the occupying Power, Israel, are having a devastating effect not only on our society as a whole but, most importantly, on our women and children, who are faced daily with the guns and atrocities of the occupier. The international community has to act and act now to stop these violations. As we speak today, a Palestinian child is being killed, imprisoned or maimed. Its only crime is simply being Palestinian, just as in South Africa the only crime of the black South African children is their colour.

Let us all together stop this menace. The black majority of South Africa has, throughout its history, resisted and organized in order stop apartheid. It has built its national liberation movements, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). It has stood tall and proud and resisted apartheid with every means available to it.

As for the Palestinians, we have resisted occupation in order to end it. The intifadah is a form of resistance to the illegal occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. We have organized ourselves and built our national liberation movement, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which speaks on our behalf and on behalf of all Palestinians, wherever they are. We have also stood proud and tall and said "no" to occupation and "no" to repression, wherever they may be. The international community therefore also has to play a more active role in ending both apartheid and occupation.

(Mrs. Khoury, Palestine)

In closing, on behalf of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization salutes the people of South Africa on this day and its leadership, the ANC and the PAC. Together, we shall build a better world - freedom, justice and peace for all.

The CHAIRMAN: We have just heard the last speaker in our meeting today.

Before I adjourn the meeting I wish to inform those present that on the occasion of the International Day many heads of State or Government have graciously sent messages to the Special Committee. So far we have received the following messages from Heads of State or Government of the following States: the Bahamas, Brazil, China, Cyprus, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, India, Indonesia, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Portugal, on behalf of the European Community, Senegal, the Sudan, Suriname, Togo, Venezuela, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia.

We have also received messages from Ministers of Foreign Affairs and other Government officials of the following countries: Argentina, Chile, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey and Ukraine.

Messages also came from the following intergovernmental and international and national non-governmental organizations: the Movement for Cooperation and Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa, formerly known as the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

I would suggest that, in accordance with previous practice, and taking into account the usual financial implications, the texts of those messages be published in a document of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN: I wish to take this opportunity to announce the results of this morning's Pledging Conference. A total of 25 Member States made pledges and contributions to the Trust Funds and programmes of assistance for southern Africa. A total of $4,068,640 was received for the United

(The Chairman)

Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. A total of $3,038,105 was received for the Trust Fund for South Africa, and $14,420 was pledged for the Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid.

I should like to remind those present that the Special Committee is organizing this afternoon, at 3 o'clock, in the Trusteeship Council Chamber, a round-table discussion in observance of this International Day.

Finally, I wish to express once again our great appreciation and thanks to all the participants in our solemn meeting for their support for and solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.